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THE CITIZENS

OF THE

United States.

(No. 1.)

Fellow-Citizens:

One who has known you long, begs leave to address you.

It was said many years ago, that a crisis had arrived which "tried men's souls." It was true. It was a great crisis, and was pregnant with the most important consequences. Multiplied wrongs and aggressions; multiplied violations of our charters and infractions upon our rights, roused your fore-fathers to resistance, and impelled them to seek by the sword, the recovery of privileges, which England, our unnatural parent, had wrested from us. *It was* a crisis fellow-citizens. It was a crisis which called for great heads and stout hearts, which called for warriors in the field, and sages in council. To a single state belonged the glory to send forth her gallant son, who, by way of excellence, is called "the Farther of his Country;" while the others were forward in sending forth their full proportion of each. There was every thing about it to entitle it to the denomination by which it is was called. It was novel—for the world had not seen its like. It was startling—for, it was every where encompassed with the dangers? It was awful—for, if unsuccessful, were a gibbet for our leaders—a yoke for their followers. *This* was our situation—this: was the crisis which tried men's souls"—But, the souls of our fore-fathers were equal to the contest; and looking as they did to the result, with an eye animated by hope, they grasped the sword, determined upon liberty or death, and onward they rushed to battle: and he who is the God of war as well as peace—he who is the God of justice as well as mercy—he who avenges himself upon nations as well as an individual—he who holds in his hand the destinies of the universe, smiled upon their cause, and crowned their effort with success. Here I repeat it—was a great crisis; and one to which we should often look with feelings of gratitude, of admiration and love, towards those who were conspicuous in it. But, another crisis fellow-citizens has occurred; and between *this* and *that* there exists the most essential difference. *That* was a crisis to create;—*this* is a crisis to destroy. *That* was a crisis which aimed at the destruction of usurpation, and the substitution, and the erection of

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a free a independent government. *This* impels to the annihilation of all government, and substitutes anarchy for the security of the law. *That* was a crisis, which gave birth to a constitution which the wise must admire, and the friend to the rights of man much esteem. *This* raises its hands against this constitution, and cloaked under the mantle of nullification, would beat it to the ground. There is then all the difference between *that crisis* and *this*: and just in proportion as the object of each is different, should be our respect for the one, and our detestation of the other. Excuse me my country-men, for dwelling so long on the subject. I love to think of our revolutionary times, and of the men who figured in them: and it behooves us all, to recall them often to our recollection. For, besides that they were times of great peril, and the dearest interest, they were moreover peculiarly remarkable for the production of some of the rarest and most ennobling qualities which adorn human nature, and mark the primitive greatness of man for a courage so indomitable that nothing could subdue—for a patriotism so steadfast that nothing could shake—and for a disinterestedness in principle and action, unsurpassed at least, in the annals of any nation of ancient or modern times. In fact they constitute an epoch in the history of the world, from whose summit the patriot and the philanthropist may look down, and contemplate the most ravishing prospect which the eye can survey. And so in spite of the fears of the timid, and the predictions of their enemies, they conquered the proud lion of old England, and achieved our independence; and then we framed a constitution, and adopted it; and then we united ourselves as one family, and in this connexion which we call UNION, we have found freedom, concord, and security. But times change and we change with them, and therefore, he who expects any human institution—supported alone by human aid—to remain unchanged has read but little and observed less. Factions in state, as well as sects in church, must come; and it is the part of wisdom to provide as well as it can, against their dreadful consequences. We ought therefore to look for changes, and even the most alarming changes—changes some of which, affect the policy, and others, the fundamental principles of our government. For, man is the descendant of a fallen parent, and is frequently a victim to the most furious and ungovernable passions. At one time, a prey to sensuality, he sinks into the arms of voluptuousness—at another, controlled by the love of riches, his sordid soul can find no pleasure but what she derives from the accumulation of the glittering metal. Such is man; but, of all the passions which assail him, there is not one which is capable of producing more good or evil, than ambition. The noblest, the grandest, at the same time the most insatiable in its desires, it has alternately raised man to the imitation of angelic greatness, or sunk him to that of the most fiendish debasement. When inordinate, the loftiest heights of the towering Andes finds no resting place for it. When entirely absorbed in self, the universe is too poor to satiate its hunger. To check its march, the best concerted plans of human reason are frequently unavailable; for thought is the image of its speed, and the thunder-bolt of heaven, the figure of its force. Dangers but stimulate it to action, and difficulties but only augment the force of its energies, death and carnage are its pastimes: and while glory encircle its banner, it grasps with firmness the standard though slippery with a brother's blood. The ties of nature retire at its approach; and the tenderest—the dearest and most cherished

feelings of the heart are palsied under its omnipotent sway. Justice lays her claims before this passion, and she heeds them not. Pity implores her succour, and she scorns to be moved by the tear which glistens in her eye. Such is inordinate ambition. We have seen it in an Alexander and a Cæsar of ancient, and a Cromwell and a Bonaparte of modern times. We have seen it in full display upon the plains of Phœlia, and afterwards on the field of Waterloo; and we may soon be called upon to look at it, in a land, free, independent and happy—our own. My countrymen—who could have supposed it—who could have imagined, that so soon as this—so soon after our Revolutionary struggle—so soon after the achievement of our liberty and independence—so soon after the adoption of our Constitution, and the formation of our union—so soon after we had become an object of admiration and envy to the universe, that we should have talked of resistance to the law, to the constitution, and the union? Yet so it is. The hoarse voice of faction is heard among you, and the language of rebellion is addressed to your ear. And this, not by a mere handful of dissatisfied and discontented men—not by a set of men destitute alike of talents, of fortune, and of character—not by a rabble or a mob; no, but by men, some of whom are of the first order of talents—by men, all of whom I believe enjoy an unstained reputation in private life—by men, some of whom had bled in their country's cause—by men of high daring and chivalrous enterprise: yes, fellow-citizens, it is by such that this language is addressed to you: it is the language of their legislature—the language of their State. And that state is South Carolina: how strange! Is it a dream, or is it a fact? that South Carolina once—still the darling sister of her sister states: that South Carolina, once—still the pride of the union: that South Carolina, which had suffered so much, which had endured so long—which had bled so profusely in the cause of independence—that South Carolina on whose escutcheon shine so many of the virtues which adorn and sweeten domestic life, should be the first of the twenty four states—the first of our social compact—the first of a family circle united by every tie, which bind men together, to declare, not in a moment of heat and passions, not in a moment of insult and menace, not when a challenge was hanging over her head, or the language of defiance was ringing in her ears, but in a time of profound peace and at least, apparent amity—at a time when she was engaged in solemn convention, and when the passions are presumed to be hushed and reason alone to bear sway, that *she* will not obey a law of the general government, that *she* will resist the execution of *that* law, that *she* will separate from the union, and declare herself to be free, sovereign and independent? Yes,—it is no dream of a distempered mind—no fiction of the creative fancy of a poet. It is a fact—South Carolina has done this. Her ordinance is the scroll of insurrection. Her nullification is the annihilation of law, and the prostration of authority. Then she stands before you. In the one hand she holds the parchment of rebellion—in the other she grasps the sword with which to sustain them.

Travelling as we have been for more than fifty years through adolescence to some thing like the gristle of manhood, we have not only been exhibiting to mankind so many sunny pictures of human happiness as have awakened their astonishment, but we have even far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the most ardent philanthropist. When

therefore at such a time as this—at a time when we are in the floodtide of a successful experiment—when divine providence is overflowing us with the abundance of his gifts—where the genius of liberty, has taken his abode amongst, and the spirit of toleration walks triumphantly over the crumbling ruins of bigotry, through our happy land—when we seem almost to have attained to the summit of human greatness and happiness. at such a time as this, the voice of resistance to the law, of disunion and rebellion breaks upon the ear like the scream of some ill-omened bird, and leaves us for a while in that state of astonishment which suspends the faculties of the mind, and paralyzes the physical action of the body. When however we have recovered from this state, it is natural for us to enquire to what does all this lead? What means this Ordinance of South Carolina which you have all read? Why is that parricidal steel uplifted against the majesty of the law? What mean those Legislative acts arming her citizens in arms against the Union? Whence spring the opposition of unionists and nullifiers, whose fierce and discordant acclamations have reached to the remotest bounds of this peaceful land? Why stand they, children of her own bowels—armed against each other, not only with the sword, but what is infinitely worse, with the most deadly and rancorous hatred? What means all this, and to what does it naturally lead? I will tell you my country-men. It leads to rebellion—to the prostration of authority—to disunion, and to civil war. Yes, civil war, with all its fury and carnage—civil war with its misrule and anarchy—civil war with “its garments rolled in blood”—and the annihilation of government. Yes, this is the state of thing which the ordinance of South Carolina must produce. Do you not shudder at the bare idea of it? Are you not prepared to make many sacrifices to prevent it? But to prevent it, we must be united in action; and to be united in action, it is necessary that we should be so in opinion. To produce this is the main object I have in addressing you, and therefore in the succeeding numbers, we will examine fully, and I trust dispassionately, the novel, and unconstitutional ground which South Carolina has taken in her ordinance.

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND

(No. 2.)

Fellow-Citizens:

I have hitherto addressed you in general terms; and I have done so, that your minds may gradually be prepared for the consideration, and calm discussion of the subjects which I shall lay before you. I said in my first number, that I have known you long, and I will now add that I esteem you much. I am by birth a native of your country; and by choice, by judgment, by every deduction of my reason, and every impulse of my heart, attached to the Constitution and Union of our Country. Who indeed, that is not a fiend in human shape, but must be? Who, unless he be one, who like the Infernal Monarch sickens at the happiness of another, but must be ready, tho' age should almost have curdled the blood in his veins, to grasp the sword to defend the Constitution and the union? Yet, it may be, that we have other men as these amongst us: nor, when we consider the matters attentively, shall we be surprised at this circumstance. Scarcely is our first parent banished from paradise, than the

earth, cursed on his account, becomes the theatre of crime, and baleful envy sheds the blood of the innocent Abel: and man has been the same since in every age, clime and government. I entreat you, to ponder on this *fact*; for it is one, which is pregnant with instruction; and while your recollection of the past, will furnish you with many instances of its existence, it will also guard you against a too confiding trust upon the profession of any man or set of men who solicit your confidence. For rely on it, you are in more danger from your negligence and apathy than your vigilance, your suspicion, or even jealousy. There is no time when these are not necessary; and *there are times* when they are *peculiarly* demanded. Do you doubt this? Look at the facts before you. Has not the time come, when doctrines the most novel, the most extraordinary, unconstitutional and disorganizing are openly avowed, and unblushingly advocated? Men—some of whom are distinguished by the splendour of their talents; some, by the abundance by which they are surrounded, and all by the profession of the most ardent attachment to the Union, boldly assert, that the will of the majority tho' declared by its constitutional organ, is not the law of the land; and that it is the right of any State in the Union, to resist and nullify it; that each State of this Union is sovereign, free, and independent; and that its obedience to any law of the General Government, is of courtesy and not of obligation. Such as the doctrine avowed by South Carolina. It is, as *they* call it, nullification. It is, as *I* pronounce it, insurrection. It is against the constitution and law, against the Union, and the *letter* and *spirit* of our social compact, against every principle of government, and society itself. And, *all this*, I shall endeavour to prove to your entire satisfaction. Before however I do this, permit me to make a few preliminary remarks, and to state to you distinctly my own political principles.

The value of some of the best things which we enjoy, is often not sufficiently appreciated, because we do not reflect maturely on the nature of the things themselves. Thus, health—one of the greatest temporal blessings which we possess, is seldom regarded with an eye of much affection, until by its loss we are compelled to feel, the almost immeasurable distance there is between it and the pains of disease; and so it is of many others, and particularly law. The benefits which we receive from this, are almost countless; and in order, that we may sufficiently appreciate them, and the source also from whence they flow; I beg your attentive consideration of this fountain itself. With law, society begins, and without it, society must end. Its original, is God, its due observance, is the harmony of the universe. Whenever you find it, *there* is order; wherever it is absent, *there* is confusion. "Where law ends, tyranny begins." Such was the exclamation of one of the greatest orators and statesman that England ever produced; and however familiar our ears may be with this exclamation, it is necessary for us to ponder on its import, to become to see its whole scope, and to *feel* its *whole* scope. For, blood stained as the history of man is, in so many of its pages, from its wars of aggression and defence, it nevertheless, never presents such an appalling spectacle of human depravity and misery, as are exhibited by those storms of the passion roused by civil war, and which raging with ungovernable fury, sweep from the land the laws of civil society, and the ordinances of divine institution. It is law my countrymen, which is the band that binds us together, and it is resistance to law which snaps this band asunder. It

is law which declares and protects our rights; and it is resistance to law which nullifies this protection, and exposes them to the usurper's grasp. It is law which secures us from the midnight murderer, and it is resistance to law which puts the dagger in his hand, and sanctions the horrid deed. It is law which declares, "thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not lie;" and it is resistance to law which trampling upon authority, licenses the commission of these crimes. Such is law, such is its force and such are its consequences. Will you abide by it? You, have received this law; you who have adopted it as the rules of your actions; *you*, who owe to it so much; your life your liberty, your security, the security of domestic enjoyments, the sweet of conjugal love, and the holy raptures of religion: will *you* abide by it? *I know you will.* *I know you will* support the law, and will dash from your confidence, the man who shall dare, to recommend to you resistance. Yes my countrymen, the law must be supported; for, "where law ends tyranny begins." For, I repeat, it is the only correct rule of action. It is the only sure foundation of our security. It is the only band of society, snap it, and government is no more; and man flies from man, and is driven into the gloom of the uninhabited forest to prowl his, unaided and alone, through the swamp of the crocodile, or the jungles of the tyger. But *I may* be asked—and the question is a very natural one, must the people then always be obedient to any legislative enactments? No matter what may be their character, no matter whether they be of the most outrageous usurpation; no matter whether they most palpably and flagrantly violate the Constitution; of our Country; no matter whether they trample upon our rights, and plunder us of our property, must the people under these circumstances yield obedience to them? I answer no. We must give to Cæsar; what belongs to Cæsar; we must give to God what belongs to God; and we must preserve to man, what are man's inherent rights. Of these no civil power has the right to attempt to divest him; nor can *he* even divest himself of them. Among these are the rights of conscience, and self preservation. These are derived from God, and are unalienable. The government may punish him for the exercise of them, it may incarcerate his body it may confiscate his goods, it may even deprive him of life; all this it may do; all this it has done. Tyrants have issued the cruel edicts, and man has bled under them. But the rights still remain, for, these lay far beyond the reach of the despots power. Whenever therefore the legislature of any country, and of course ours, shall enact a measure of this character; when they shall obviously, to the understanding of an overwhelming majority of the people, violate the constitution of the land; when they shall attempt to tear from them, their dearest and most valuable rights; when, in the wantonness of power, they shall undertake to plunder them of their property; in a word, when the civil Cæsar inflamed by ambition, shall lawlessly attempt, to put his foot upon their necks; then indeed a crisis has arrived when allegiance ends, and resistance is *right*. And then, the Brutus who may stab the tyrant to the heart, is not the traitor, but the avenger of his country's wrongs. Such a Brutus was found in the days of the Roman Cæsar; that he was found too, in the times of a British Cæsar; and heaven grant, that he may be found *here* likewise, should the tyrant Cæsar ever dare to raise his arm against the constitution, the liberties and the union of our Country.

These fellow-citizens are my political principles. They are, I grant it, the principles of insurrection—but, they are nevertheless the principles of your ancestors, and the basis of your revolution—they are the principles of man (human action) by *right*—the principles of Rome—of Greece—of France—of Ireland—and of Poland: the principle in fact, of every nation under the sun, which stript of its rights and plundered of its property, grapples with the tyrant's grip, and breaks his iron sceptre into fragments, and when a case, such as the one I have described—shall occur, then resistance is right, and sometimes duty. But, then it must be such a one as I have particularized—the constitution *must* be violated—the liberties of the people *must* be wrested from them—their dearest rights *must* be trampled under foot—in a word; it *must* be a case, invested with all the circumstances which I have described—and even then, it must not be resorted to, until every other means have failed; until remonstrance has failed; until petition has failed; until threats have failed; until, in fact, the cup of humiliation, of wrong, of oppression of every kind, has been drank to the very dregs. Then, and then only is resistance defensible, then, and then only may the people rise in their might, and like Sampson of old, shake the pillars of the political edifice, and bury their tyrants, under its ruins. But, fellow-citizens, have we as yet, come to this? As yet, have *we* the case, which I have presented for your consideration? As yet has the constitution of our land been flagrantly, and obviously violated? As yet, have our citizens been robbed of their rights and plundered of their property? As yet, has Cæsar appeared amongst us, with the yoke of bondage in one hand, and the sword of usurpation in the other? On the contrary, is there even a speck of such injustice, such oppression and tyranny amongst us? By what have you been governed? By what should you be governed? Has it not been solely by the law? The law, made too, according to the letter and spirit of our social compact? according to the constitution, according to all the form and substance of this very instrument? For, is there one solitary law of the general government, which bears not upon its front this character. Is there one tax laid upon you by the general government which *you*, have not enacted by your own deputies? If there be, there is usurpation, and tyranny. If so, the tyrant Cæsar has appeared amongst us; and if this indeed be the case, let the sword leap from its scabbard, let the drum beat to arms, let the standard of freedom be unfurled. And let the descendants of the heroes of seventy-six, the sons of freedom rush to the battle field; and, if necessary, recover through blood and slaughter, the rights which belong them. Yes, let them crush the Cæsar to the earth; or perish in the attempt. But, I ask you again, is this the case? The question my country-men is important. It deserves your undivided attention; and shall be the subject of our consideration, in my next number.

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND.

(No.3.)

Fellow-Citizens:

We will now enter upon the subject of nullification: we will consider its real meaning and importance, we will enquire into the pretexts upon which it is justified, and we will then look at, and ponder on the consequences to which it inevitably leads.

Nullification in its true and literal sense, means nothing more or less than destruction. The nullification then of a law, means the annihilation of the law. I beg your attention, to this definition; it is the true one, and I entreat you not to suffer your minds to be led away from this, its correct meaning, by the subtleties of the sophist, or the inflated language of the popular declaimer. To nullify then, I repeat, is to destroy, and to nullify a law, is therefore to destroy a law. Now, this is precisely the ground, which South Carolina takes. *She* maintains, that she has the right of nullification. *She* maintains that when the general government has made a law, that *she* believes to be unconstitutional, *she* has a right to resist, to nullify, to destroy it. This is *her* doctrine, and *this* the basis on which her ordinance is grounded. The general government asserts the contrary, and of course denies this right. Here then the parties are at issue; and *we* are called upon to decide. The question as I have observed is thus fairly before you; and it is one of the utmost importance. It concerns the dearest interests which you possess. It involves the constitution and union of your country, and, as you shall decide will they be advanced, retarded, perhaps, destroyed. Has South Carolina then a right to resist, to nullify an act of Congress? Has *she*, but a single state, in the union, has *she*, with no other privileges than those which belong to any state in the union, a right to occupy the high and novel ground which she assumes? *This* fellow-citizens is the true question before us. It is not the Tariff, it is not the constitutionality of this law it is not state rights, it is not the doctrine of 93, it is not the hackneyed question about the power of the Judiciary, it is not these, or any one of these which we are called upon to decide. It is the *share* right of a state's refusing to obey a law of the general government. Let us then examine the subject with calmness and consideration. Let us endeavour to divest ourselves of passion and prejudice, and give to our reason that sway which the importance of the matter so imperatively requires.

If South Carolina have the right for which she contends, it must be derived either from nature, the constitution, or the law. I say from nature; for, these are natural rights which may not be called in question, and whenever these are invaded, the right of disobedience evidently exists. Thus if the civil authority command you to do an act by which your allegiance to God is violated, the sight of resistance clearly results. Unless South Carolina then can show such a case as this, unless she can show some case like those which I have been speaking of unless she can show *the act* by which her inherent rights have been invaded; unless she can *demonstrate* that the constitution has been violated; unless she can clearly *prove* that the usurper is in the field, and has his foot already raised, to place it on the necks of the people; unless, I say, she can do this, she derives no right from nature to resist the enactments of the general government. Now, I ask you, and I beg you to ponder deliberately on the question, has there *been* one inherent right of South Carolina invaded by the general government? Has there been article of the constitution violated in her regard? Do not her citizens enjoy unmolested, the rights of conscience, and worship God according to its dictates. Do they not pass their own laws, and manage their own internal concerns? Is there one reserved right which she does not possess, and as freely exercise? Is there one law, I again ask you, is there one law of the general government, which she has not assisted to pass, and which was not en-

acted according to the very spirit and terms of the social compact? I venture to assert that there is not one: but South Carolina declares the contrary, and cites the Tariff as the proof of the assertion. As to *this* law, I have no hesitation in saying that I am opposed to it. I believe it is oppressive. I *think* it is unconstitutional: I would therefore oppose it by every constitutional means in my power. If able, I would beat its supporters in argument. If I had numbers, I would conquer them through the ballot box. *This*, at least, is the course which I would pursue. But, in the supposition that I fail, what then should be the consequence? Must I resort to resistance? Because, I believe the Tariff law, is unjust, am I justifiable in resisting it? Because I *believe* it unconstitutional, am I *there* authorized in unsheathing the sword against it, in unfurling the banner of rebellion, and inviting you to repair to it? Adopt this principle, and what becomes of law? what becomes of authority! what in fact becomes of every principle on which society is based? The law, is it not prostrate before opinion? Authority, is it not trampled under foot? The social principles! are they not scattered to the winds? Away then my countrymen with the doctrine which comes to tell you, that *you* have a right to resist the law, away, away with the doctrine which makes *you* judges not only the rule of the interpretation of the law, not only the tribunal to decide upon its accordance with the spirit of the constitution, but, your sanction for resisting it. It has rebellion stamped upon it for a rebread. It has anarchy and blood in its front, and desolation and death in its rear. It is produced amidst the storms and tempests of human passion, and like a whirlwind, shakes the pillars of every government as it sweeps through the earth. 'Tis throwing dust into your eyes; 'tis insulting your understandings, to prate to you, as some do, about your supremacy, and your right to resist the law. No man respects the sovereignty of the people, more than I do, but every sovereign under heaven is limited; and sovereign as you may be, you have no sovereignty to do wrong, and to oppose the law when *you* please; and to violate it when *you* please, you have no sovereignty from God or man. I am as much a friend of civil and religious liberty as you can be: and under whatever shape they may assume, I detest tyranny and tyrants. But, my country-men, anarchy, is not liberty, and the mad rule of passion, is not the sway of justice and reason. No, my country-men, law is the offspring of reason. "Law is the rule of action;" law is the cement of society; law is a principle from God, and law is the only protection under heaven, against brute force. To resist the law then, you have no right; and thus when a man enters into the social compact, it is with the implied understanding, that he will support, not oppose authority, that he will obey, not resist the law. How long would your government last with such a principle? How long would your law be respected with this wild, this anarchial, this infernal principle of action? Start with it, start with this principle, this monster of deformed reason, this imp of rebellion, start I say with it, start I repeat, with this principle, that any one of you may resist the law, the moment he believes it is unconstitutional, and what becomes of the force of law, what becomes of the obligation of law, and your own oath to support it: they are gone, they are nullities, and the whole system of legislation begins in a farce, and ends in tragedy. From God then, and from him are derived all rights, you possess none to resist the law: and both reason and experience most manifestly show, that as society cannot be held together

without law, so the principle which allows resistance to it, must be the dream of a mad-man or, the devil of an anarchist. We may form some idea of this monstrous principle, begotten by the passions in the eclipse of reason, by casting our eyes upon France during the phrenzy of her first revolutionary struggle, and there we shall behold: What? The triumph of reason and of law? The triumph of justice and order? The reign of peace and happiness? No, my country-men, but the triumph of the passions of the damned, and the wreck of the image of his God. Shall I draw you a picture of this revolution, this boasted emancipation of reason, this era of storms and factions, this glorious resurrection, as phrenzy or cunning called it, of the rights of man? Shall I present to you, Paris, as she *was*, in that her day of glory; Paris raging with the fury of hell; Paris the theatre of every crime, and the sink of every abomination; Paris drunk with the blood of her own citizens; Paris butchering the loveliest females which adorned her city; Paris deaf to the voice of humanity, and steeled against the cries of pity; Paris waging war against God and trampling his altars in the dust; Paris like a fiend doubly damned inscribing on the tomb-stones of her church yards, the testimony of her dis-belief in the immortality of the soul, and thus warring against a religion whose truths are the sweetest cordial to the towering heart? Shall I draw you a picture of this Paris, whose factions like the waves of some troubled sea wrought into fury, threatened not only the demolition of government, of law, and of order, but the extinction of every thing that had been deemed grand and noble; of every virtue which can adorn human nature, and of every incentive to virtuous action? Well, there it is: there you have Paris in all her magnificence and glory; there you see the emancipation of the passions and the prostration of the law; there you behold civil war in all its madness, and ungovernable rage; there you behold the dagger of the father red with the blood of his own son; there you may behold the daughter, perhaps the only child of a widowed mother, torn from her arms, and ever and anon the distant shrieks of violated chastity fall upon your ear, there you may behold woman,—woman formed to love and to soothe,—woman whose angel smile can irradiate the gloom of a prison, and soften the anguish of confinement, converted into a tygress, and mangling with a kindred ferocity, the victim of her rage. There, fellow-citizens you behold the dreadful effects of misrule, and there before your eyes, rages that tempestuous ocean of anarchy which owns us lord, and is controuled by no law. Is there a man among you who desires to behold such a state of things? Is there one among you, who grasping the pillars of our happy union, would tumble to the ground, the lofty dome which covers and protects so many millions of happy people? Is there a man, I ask who would do the last? There *should* not be: but my country-men, I fear, I believe, facts, compel me to believe, that there are such; and although I almost tremble to utter the sentiment, yet, I feel that I am bound to do it. For these fellow-citizens, are not the times of “piping peace.”—When the fiend of discord is stalking through the land; when the hell hounds of faction are unkennelled and scenting for their prey; when the artillery of rebellion is directed against the citadel of your liberties; when in imagination you may behold the traitor with match in hand, ready to apply to the murderous engine: when, in fancy, you may see civil war rushing through your land, and like a torrent breaking down every barrier of the law, of the constitution, of religion and mo-

rality; when you may every day hear advanced, and advanced too by men of the rarest talents, principles so wild and anarchical, so novel and disorganizing as to be utterly subversive of all governments; when you are gravely told, that there is no sovereignty in your government, no power in the law, no force to compel obedience to authority. I say, when language of this kind is addressed to your ears and doctrines so pestiferous are recommended to your adoption; but above all, when you are standing upon the very precipice of a civil war, and may behold before your eyes the daring Cataline waving over your land the bloody flag of rebellion, he is an enemy to your country, to your dearest interest: or the basest of cowards, who amidst such impending dangers, when the thunder is bursting over your heads, and the lightning of civil discord is gleaming in your eyes, stands like the treacherous centinel at his post, and cries "all's well." No, my country-men this is not a moment for supineness and apathy, but for vigilance and circumspection. It is a moment for promptness and action, and this is the time when you should treat as your most deadly enemy, the man, be he who he may, that dares to recommend resistance to the law. Resistance to the law! Resistance to the law of your own representatives! Resistance to the law which *you* authorized them to enact! Resistance to the law which so many of you have even *sworn* to support! Gracious God! is it come to this? Why, my countrymen, what are you without law? what right can you enjoy, what property possess, what privilege exercise without law? None. They are all gone, all utterly demolished. Distrust then the man who recommends to you resistance to the law. I care not what talents he may possess, what eloquence may fall from his lips, what professions of patriotism he may make, he is an enemy to your union, and your social compact. He is a monster, he is a Cataline under the mantle of nullification,—he is a Cassius who carries a dagger under his cloak. He would destroy your union. He would overthrow your liberties. He would wrap your cities in flames, he would red-dens your hearts with your own blood. His passion is the ambition of a fiend; his object the possession of a throne; his means, whatever will enable him to obtain it. What to him are the annihilation of law, and the prostration of authority? What to him are the wild uproar and confusion of anarchy? What to him in a word, is the carnage and fury of civil war? Like the inhuman tyrant who feeds upon blood, he views the surrounding desolation with a tearless eye, and with the malice of a fiend, he exults in it, as the work of his own hand. Yes, I repeat it, all this havoc and desolation, this wide spread ruin and misery are nothing to him. He grasps the sceptre, though steeped in tears, and mounts the throne, though its steps be still slippery with a brother's blood. And *you*, my countrymen, *you* the descendants of the heroes of '76; *you* the friends of the constitution, of the law, and the union; *you* who have lived so free, so independent, and happy, *you* are to become,—are you not indignant at the bare idea,—*you* are to become *his* subjects, *his* slaves! For *him*, the proud edifice of our liberties is to be tumbled to the ground. For *him* the law is to be prostrated, and authority to be trampled under foot. For *him* our union, that union which "we the people" entered into, is to be broken into fragments, and for *him*, for this Cataline in disguise; for this disturber of public peace, for this rebel who essays to steal into the confidence by the assumption of the doctrines of ninety-eight," *we* as a nation, are to exist no more. Such is the prospect before us. Such are the principles avowed

by the ordinance of South Carolina; and such must be the consequence, if your government do not rise in its might, and crush the insolent rebel to the earth. And, will *you* not unite with your government? Will you not lend your aid, cheerfully lend your aid, to crush rebellion and punish its authority? Will you stand by, and calmly behold your government insulted, its authority braved, its laws trampled under foot? Will you behold a portion of South Carolina, her gallant sons, the friends of the law and the union, butchered by the lawless tyrant which already threatens their destruction, and will you not rush to their assistance? Will you, when the colours of your country are unfurled, and placed, in the language of the eloquent Webster, "upon the ramparts of the constitution," will you not fly to it, and swear to defend the union, or perish in the attempt? I trust, I believe, nay I am sure, my country-men, that you will. For, you must be fools if you do not love the union, you must be base if you would attempt to destroy it, and must be cowards if you are not willing to risque your lives in its defence. But it is time to draw this number to a close. It has been more prolix than I intended, but I trust that in the importance of the subject you will see a sufficient apology.

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND.

(No. 4.)

Fellow-Citizens:

Let us pursue the subject, and let us do so, as I have already said, without prejudice or passion; and for this purpose, let us look to facts, and reason calmly upon them. Is South Carolina then I would ask you, an integral part of the union? Does she, or does she not comprise a part of that family compact, called the people of the United States of America? If she do not, the General Government have no control over *her*. If she be sovereign, free, and independent, then its laws do not reach *her*, the very attempt to enforce them, would be an act of tyranny, and would justify, nay more, would call for their resistance. But, is *this the fact*? You know that it is not—she knows that it is not. *You* know, that she forms a part of our social compact: and *she* knows, as well as you do, that she freely entered into it. I say freely, for she was at liberty to accept or reject the terms of admission, to enter into the union, or to remain out of it. She was sovereign, free, and independent, she might therefore have gone back to England; she might have established a separate and independent government; she might have made war or peace with any potentates on earth. She had a right to do this, for, she was independent. But, the moment she adopted the Constitution, she was bound by the Constitution. The moment she became a partner of our social compact, she was bound by the terms of this compact, no proposition can be more true; no principle more correct, no conclusion more logical than this. Can you doubt it? Will any man, save a sophist or a fool call it in question? No, fellow citizens, the thing is self evident. If one man be bound by contract, individuals are equally bound by *theirs*. The principle is the same, and numbers cannot make any difference. South Carolina is not therefore, sovereign, and independent; and much, of what has been addressed to you upon this subject is contemptible sophistry,

and empty declamation. Look for a moment at this boasted sovereignty, and where will you find it? South Carolina is sovereign, and she can neither make war or peace! South Carolina is sovereign, and she has no right to coin money! South Carolina is sovereign, and she swears allegiance to the United States! South Carolina is sovereign, and she swears to support the laws of Congress! South Carolina sovereign, and has not one solitary right, but that which the people, "we, the people," fellow citizens, have mutually agreed she shall possess. In the most unbounded excursions of fancy, in the wildest range of imagination, was there ever conceived an idea more absurd, more unfounded than this? Why my countrymen, the very men who are now advocating the right of resistance to the law, swore but yesterday to support it. The very men who now sound in your ear the doctrine of nullification, asserted by their oaths the contrary. The very men who now declaim so loudly about the sovereignty of the states: the sovereignty which may nullify an act of Congress, or secede from the union; know that they hold language of untruth, of frothy declamation, without fact, without reason, and without argument. Yes, they know this fellow citizens. But it suits their purpose to deal in sophisms, and to inflame your passion. Their ordinance calls for this course. Hatched in the hot bed of rebellion, its success depends upon the excitement of your passions, and the obscuration of your reason. Hence their continual appeals to them: hence their inflammatory harangues against the general government; and their pompous declamation about state rights and state sovereignties! What nonsense; what cunning; what traitorous designs, lurk under these imposing words. State sovereignty! The sovereign state of South Carolina! Why, my countrymen, where is *her* sovereignty? Where is her right to resist the law of Congress; to insult the majesty of the authority of the general government, to disturb order; to war against the Constitution, and to introduce anarchy and confusion? Where I ask, is her right to do this? No state has it; no state can have it, under our social compact. The thing is impossible; it is inconsistent with our constitution; it is subversive of law: it is destructive to society. The moment an individual surrenders one of his attributes to another, he ceases to be sovereign. The moment therefore South Carolina entered into the union, and surrendered one particle of her sovereignty, she ceased to be sovereign. Can you doubt this? It is the conclusion of reason, it is the deduction of fact. I know very well fellow citizens, that this is not, according to the language in which you are sometimes addressed. It smacks not, I admit, of the spirit of the ordinance of South Carolina. It recommends not I allow, the principles, of that instrument of rebellion: No my countrymen, it does not: but it is the language of reason and common sense; of the constitution, and the fundamental principles of the social compact. With this view then of the subject, I ask you, has South Carolina a *right* to resist a law of Congress? I answer no. Look at the compact which *we* formed, look at the Constitution which *we* adopted, look at the principles by which *we* have been heretofore governed, look at the uniform practice of the people, look at these, and *you* too, must answer no. Yes, this must be your response. No unprejudiced mind can come to a different conclusion, no independent one will fear to avow it. What then is the attitude of South Carolina? Is it not that of rebellion? What is her language? Is it not that of an insurgent? What is the ground on which she stands? Is it

not of defiance? Yes fellow citizens, *this* is her position: *she* declares that she will not obey the law, she proclaims that she will resist it even unto blood. Already, has she passed an act for this purpose. Already does she beat the drum of rebellion; already has she unrolled the flag of civil war, and invited her citizens to rally round it; already does she stand with the sword in her hand, and the bold declaration on her lips, that nullification is her doctrine, and that she will, if necessary, die to support it. One step more, and she passes the rubicon; one step more, and she may plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war. What now my countrymen, should be done by your government? And what should be done by you? As to *that*, it is its duty to execute law. For this it was created; for this you delegated to it power; for this alone it exists; and if it fail in this respect it is without authority, without force, without one single quality of respect or esteem. I trust then that it will not be wanting in its duty, and I persuade myself, that you will not withhold from it the means to perform it. If there be a people on the face of the earth who have reason to confide in their government, it is yourselves. You framed it, you adopted it. It is therefore essentially your own. Your President; is he not elected by yourselves? Your representatives in Congress; did you not elect *them* also? The laws which they passed; did *you* not give them the power to enact *them*? And have you not bound yourselves to be governed by *them*? Upon what principle then is it that South Carolina can lawfully resist an act of the general government? Is it on the ground of her sovereignty? She has none. Is it upon that of reserved rights? She has none in this respect. Is it that the Tariff law is unconstitutional? But, what evidence have we of this fact? and again what right has *she* to determine it? I know, that a contrary doctrine is asserted by some of the advocates of nullification, but is it not novel, it is false, it is unconstitutional. Your fore-fathers did not know it. The heroes who achieved your freedom, the sages who framed your constitution, and "we the people" who adopted it, were strangers to this doctrine. Admit it, and your government is a nullity. Admit it, and your laws are without force, and your union is without value. But, such is not the theory of our government. It was the work of the people; and *they* made it sovereign. Now, the people of South Carolina were parties in this compact. They with the rest of the people adopted our constitution, and in vain will you search for one title in that instrument which savours the monstrous doctrine, that South Carolina has the right of judging of the constitutionality of a law of the general government. *She* a judge! We might smile at the absurdity of this doctrine, and laugh at the visionary sophist who attempts to support it. But, these are not times for mirth and laughter. A state in arms, a state threatening resistance to the law, a state upon the very precipice of rebellion, is a spectacle well calculated to make the most thoughtless consider, and the most rash to pause. Fifty-four years have rolled over our heads, and, such an exhibition as this, was never before presented. We have lived like neighbours, like friends, like brothers. Distance seemed to be conquered by the inventions of genius. The north, the south, the east and the west, seemed almost to touch; and the continual intercourse, and kind offices, which brightened the chain which bound us together, appeared to add increased strength to the links which composed it. The desert was cleared; and where but a little while before, the panther prowled for his prey, and the war whoop

of the savage was heard, cities were established, and the arts, comforts, and embellishments of civilized life were introduced and cultivated. Such was our situation; and during all this time, no state stood in rebellion to the general government, no state broached the doctrine of nullification; no state dared to assert her right of resisting the law. No, my country-men, this bold and unconstitutional stand,—this stand against law, against authority, and reason, has been reserved for South Carolina. She has taken it; and she proclaims her determination to abide by the consequences. But, has she a right to do so? Confederated with people of (or in) the others states, have *they* not said, and has *she* not said, that congress may pass laws, and of course, that they shall be binding upon us? *This* is one of the first principles of our government. This is the bases on which it is erected, and this *obliges* all to obey the law. What folly, what madness then it is to talk of the *rights* of South Carolina to resist the law! and if in spite of the constitution and government she will do this, how indispensable is the necessity on the part of the government to put her down. Yes fellow-citizens, to put her down, cost what it may, to put her down by the sword. For think of the act as you may, an armed resistance to the laws of the United States is rebellion; and be the authors of this what they may in public or private life, be they gifted with the wisdom of a Solomon or the strength of a Sampson, they are rebels. I am aware that this may be called strong language. It is, and I wish it to be such. The times require it. The case demands it. For, it is no common case, upon which I am now addressing you. It is not a western insurrection: it is not a handful of ignorant men and mad enthusiasts: No, it is a state, once the glory of the confederation: it is men, once the pride of their country: it is talents of the first order: it is genius of the most dazzling lustre: it is a daring which scorns intimidation, that asserts the right of resistance. The case then is no common one, and of course it rejects a common remedy. The Congress, depend upon it, will perform its functions; and your president will do his duty. *He* is not the man to omit this; not the man to be staggered at difficulties, or dismayed at dangers. If then the whirlwind of war must come, let it come, and be upon its authors, its disastrous consequences. *They* alone will be the cause of them: and if the monster of rebellion cannot be crushed without a resort to arms, let the sword determine the issue. A few words more fellow-citizens, and I will bring this number to a close. You have been told. It has been asserted in the public prints,—it is often avowed in conversation, that *our's* is not a government of force; and that the union of the states cannot be preserved on this principle. One does not know which most to admire, the cunning which conceived, or the impudence which avows this idea. Ours not a government of force! Not a government of force, when the very word implies it: not a government of force, when as you know, it enacts laws, and coerces obedience: not a government of force, when, if it had not this principle, it would be no government at all. Fellow-citizens, let us not be deceived by the artifices of the friends of nullification by pompous declamation, or the subtleties of the sophist. There are principles in government which lead to despotism. There are principles also which terminate in anarchy. The extreme of power may be oppression. The extreme of liberty *must* be licentiousness. View the subject of civil government in any light you please: view it in all the variety of shapes which it has assumed from its first existence: recall all that you have read

or heard on this subject: ruminate upon it, in all the seriousness of your mind, you must at last come to this conclusion: that a government with too much force is a despotism,—a government without sufficient force is a nullity. When therefore it is said that *ours* is not a despotic government, the assertion is strictly true, because no one man's will, is the law; but, when it is added that it wants the power of coercing obedience to the law, the assertion is false, and is an insult to your understanding. For, when piracy is committed, is not the offender arrested by the law; tried by the law; found guilty by the law; condemned by the law, and executed by the law. The cannon which compels him to lower his bloody flag and surrender. What is this I ask you but the thunder and force of the law? The jury which tries him; the judges which sentence him; the governor which signs his death warrant, nay, the very jack-ketch which fixes the rope about his neck; what are all these but the ministers of the law? creatives of the law? and the force of the law? When in 1813 we declared war against England, what was this but a measure of the law? When previous to this, a spark of insurrection appearing in the west, twenty thousand armed men were raised. What was this but a measure of the law? And was there then no force in the government to execute the law; no force then to repel the invaders of our country; no force to sustain authority; no force to extinguish the spark of insurrection, and to crush the monster of rebellion. You know fellow-citizens, that there was,—and it was the force of moral principle among the people: that moral principle which reverences and supports authority; that moral principle without which government is a farce and law is a nullity; that moral principle which, when it shall be banished from the land, dissolves the elements of society, breaks down the barriers against crime, tramples authority under foot, puts the dagger into the hands of every man, to use it as he may, and licences the commission of every act by which virtue shall be oppressed and turpitude shall triumph. It is untrue then to assert that *our's* is not a government of force. It is a slander upon your character to suppose that you will not co-operate in the execution of the law. It is a calumny upon your principles to presume that you will not support the union. In the name of heaven, what is *our* government,—what is any government on earth if it possess not this character? What is it but the toy of a fool, the scorn of the wise, the contempt of all? I know very well, that there is an essential difference in the forms of government, and that therefore the force of one differs materially from the force of another. In despotism, it is the force of the bayonete. The despot wills, and the sword compels obedience. In limited monarchies, it is the force of the aristocracy. The king proposes, and the purse ensures acquiescence. In our government the case is different. Here, it is not the force of a standing army—not the force of mercenaries ready to obey their commander. No it is not such a force as this; but it is the force of public opinion; the force of moral principle; the force of necessity, of reason, and common consent. This is the force of your government; this is the power which compels obedience and which punishes the daring wretch who raises his hand against your constitution; your freedom and union; without it, your government is but a shadow, your constitution but the airy fabrick of a vision; and your union but a rope of sand. In fact, not a government, not a corporation, not a club, not a society of men, for any

purposes ever existed, but acknowledges and adopts this principle. Universal as heat, you find it in every part of the habitable globe. Omnipresent as its author, it is the soul of every government, and the adhesive principle that keeps society together. The pirates on the sea, and the banditti on the land—yes, even these monsters who live by blood and plunder, acknowledge authority, and bow with submission to him whom they have appointed their leader. Such is the character of law, such its majesty; such its necessity, and force. Derived from God, obedience to it is as much the instinct of nature, as the conviction of its justice is the deduction of reason: nor, can it ever be resisted, except when, by subverting the very end of its existence, man becomes absolved from his allegiance to it. That such a case has occurred, I, who advocate our revolution of '76 freely admit; and that such a case may again occur, is certainly within the limits of possibility. But, that it *has* occurred; that at any period since the establishment of our government, the constitution has been violated to the understanding of an overwhelming majority of our people; that at any period since, we have been *robbed* of our rights, and *plundered* of our property: *this* I deny, and *this* I confidently assert *cannot be proved*. For, take the tariff law—this law so much complained of by South Carolina; *this* law declared by so many of her citizens to be unconstitutional; take even *this* law, and what after all are the facts in the case? That the law is oppressive and unjust? This is flatly denied. That the law is unconstitutional? This too meets with a positive contradiction. In the South; Mr. Calhoun, in 1816 was amongst its warmest advocates and most energetic supporters; and then it was in his estimation according to the letter and spirit of the constitution. In 1832, he discovers it not only to be unjust, but a most flagrant violation of the constitution. How strange! But, let us go on. In the west; Mr. Clay,—a man ranked certainly among our most distinguished politicians, asserts its constitutionality, and supports it. In the east; the gigantic and logical mind of Daniel Webster decides in its favor; and in the centre of your union, your own President gives to it his sanction. Well then may we doubt the correctness of that judgment which pronounces the tariff unconstitutional. It *may be*; but that *it is so, palpably and obviously*; that it is so, in such a manner as to leave no doubt upon the subject, is an assertion which rests solely upon the boldness which makes it. But it is time to bring this number to a close.

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND.

(No. 5.)

Fellow-Citizens:

I have endeavored in my last number to expose the doctrine of nullification. I have endeavored to show you, that it is false in theory, and dangerous in practice. I have endeavored to prove that it derives its origin in rebellion, and that it leads to war and to anarchy. I might offer to you some other arguments on this subject, but I trust that they are unnecessary. Indeed, if we may believe the rumours of the day, the nullifiers themselves begin to suspect the soundness of their own doctrine,

and halt in the mad career of resistance to the law. For, it *appears* that the ordinance of the South Carolina convention is suspended 'till after the rising of Congress. *That* ordinance which produced so much turmoil and agitation among her own citizens; *that* ordinance so full of audacity and rebellion; *that* ordinance which had enlisted in its favor so many of the *strong men* of the south; turns out, after all its vapouring to be a mere thing of "sound and fury, and signifying nothing." Well, I am glad of it; but, let us not after all, suffer *ourselves* to be deluded by this act of condescension; for, it may be to lull us into false security, and prevent the legislature of our union from giving to our chief magistrate that power which is necessary to support authority, and to compell obedience to the law. A calm often precedes a storm, and the Tyger crouches before he leaps upon his prey. So it is with agitators, and men inflamed by ambition, and maddened by blasted hopes. *They* too can assume the arts of peace when they intend war, and Tyger like, crouch ere they spring upon the object which they have marked for their victim. There is however in all this business one thing very extraordinary, and equally suspicious. The ordinance it seems, is to be withdrawn on account of the late message of the President. When the Proclamation came out, the nullifiers were in a blaze. Each man became a Hercules in strength, and a Decius in patriotism. Nothing was talked of but thunder and lightning, powder and ball, and dying in a ditch. And next, when the message makes its appearance; *the message* which contains every principle that is declared in the Proclamation; the *message* which calls for *force* to execute the law; the tone of our nullifiers is changed, and we are no longer disgusted with a long parade about the rights, of the *sovereign state of South Carolina*. No my countrymen all this is dropped: and while the nullifiers here are waring against the message, their friends in S. Carolina even praise it to the skies. While the first, regard it as little less than a declaration of war against a sovereign state, the second, look upon it as a measure of great mildness, and a recognition of their just rights. Strange this difference should exist; but the *Experiment* had arrived; and the cannon of authority frowned upon their citadel. Besides, the unionists we have been told, were in good heart, as they have much reason to be; for their principles are sound, and their cause is just. Both these combined *may* have had the good effect of bringing the nullifiers to their senses, and have saved the government from *that tremendous battery* with which *they* threatened it. But, be this as it may, I repeat that our vigilance should not sleep. The principles of nullification are not yet disavowed, and the ordinance of the *sovereign state of South Carolina* against its *subject*, the General Government—of the *creator against the creature*, still hangs over its head, and may, on the 4th of next March be carried into vigorous execution. In the mean while however, as we have got a breathing spell let us avail ourselves of it, and go on with our reflections upon the subject on which I have the honor to address you. Next in order then comes Cession, and you have been asked, whether a state of this union has not a right to secede from it? Thirty years ago, such a question would not have been asked: but this is an age of wonders; and we live and learn; but, let us meet the question at once. I have already shown you that no state in this union is sovereign. It cannot be: it has yielded to the general government a portion of its rights; and therefore so far as these are yielded, it is not sovereign.

Now, has it not surrendered to the general government the right of taxing it? and if this be the fact as most certainly it is, whence is derived its right of separating from the union? Suppose a case. Suppose the United States go to war, and incur a debt of \$20,000,000. This debt *shou'd* be paid. The contract declares it, and justice requires it. Now we all know that to meet an exigency of this kind, we must resort to taxation. A tax is therefore laid, and South Carolina is included in the levy. Ought she to be exempted from the operation of this tax? The constitution expressly declares the contrary. But she, in the councils of her wisdom, takes a different view of the subject; and asserts that for the purpose of avoiding the payment of her portion of it, she will separate from the union. Has she a right to do this? Is there a man of sense and honesty among you, that can believe it? and do you think that the general government, formed by the people of the United States for the protection of all, would permit it? Be assured it would not. In considering this subject, we must bear in mind the motive which induced the people in the several states to unite and form a union. This motive was protection. Divided, they were subject to many evils, which united they would avoid. Evils at home, evils from abroad threatened them. At home, the danger of internal war stared them in the face; abroad, the prospect of foreign usurpation was obvious and equally alarming. Hence the people in the several states of the United States united, and formed a general government. It was policy then, it was self preservation, it was downright necessity which produced the union: and as this *was* its basis, I maintain, that until such a majority as entered into the union; shall propose a separation, no state has a right to secede; and the moment she attempts it, she must be prevented. If asked how this is to be done, I answer by the adoption of such means as are necessary to produce this effect. You will perceive my countrymen, that I am not, as the word is sometimes understood, an advocate of state rights doctrine: I am not, I assure you. Absurd in theory, it is false in fact. No state is sovereign, which has not the attributes of sovereignty; but no state in our union can exercise these prerogatives, therefore no state which composes it, is sovereign. Hence she has no right to withdraw herself from the rest; and they have none to withdraw themselves from her. The obligation is mutual and the right of violation exists in neither. But, times change, and we change with them; yes, every day furnishes us with the most evident proofs of this: for upon this very subject, what was the creed even of our nullifiers and secession men about 30 years ago? You know that about that time, we had "the embargo law." It was amongst the most foolish and destructive schemes that was ever hatched in the hot bed of a visionary projector, for, it wanted the gallantry of war, and the security of peace. It promised to avert war, it did not. It was to have starved England, and she laughed at us. It was to have compelled *her* to surrender the right of impressing her own subjects in time of war, and it did not. Such was the operation of the embargo abroad: but its effect at home was of a very different character. Here its potency was pretty severely felt; but it was in the east more than any other part of the union, that the most abundant harvest of its blessings was reapt. Massachusetts the cradle of American liberty; Massachusetts who, from Bunker Hill had heard the shouts of *her* sons battling for the rights of man, was peculiarly affected by this modern scheme of starvation. *Her's* is essentially a

commercial state, and hence she was smarting severely under a system, which while it drew forth even the pity of the sarcastic Canning, caused *her* to groan and weep. Hence too she was considerably excited, and sometimes her language was strong upon this subject; but, when one of her statesmen talked of separation; when he used the words, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must:" what was then said upon this subject? Did the party which supports secession *now*, justify secession *then*? *It did not: and you know* it did not. But, what then? Was Massachusetts wrong, and is South Carolina right? Was it treason to talk of a separation *then*? and is it harmless to assert the right *now*. Was it treason for Massachusetts to draw the sword and cut the cord which unites us together; and is it less so *now*, for South Carolina to do the same? But Massachusetts never did threaten to annul a law of Congress; she never did threaten to dissolve the union, she never did threaten to separate from the union. South Carolina does this, and *she* has advocates; but I trust, they are but few.

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND.

(No. 6.)

Fellow-Citizens:

Let us pursue our discussion on the subject of secession. Recommended by a few men of considerable talents, and supported by inflammatory addresses to your passions, it procured adherents; nevertheless it is not even plausible when examined by the eye of reason, and combatted by the force of sound argument. For, what after all, is its true character. Precisely that of nullification. And what, is its effect? Exactly the same, as that novel and rebellious doctrine, which, when reduced to practice, must produce. The secession of a state, is disunion. Now, I ask you, is it your belief that the parties which formed our confederacy, ever dreamt that any one state of this confederacy, might withdraw from it, whenever she pleased? It is absurd to suppose it. For, as the union of the states was for their preservation, the principle which allows any one state to jeopardise the safety of the rest, must be excluded from the contract. In truth, its very novelty renders it suspicious; and the consequences which its adoption must produce, make it detestable. Put the case of war. We are engaged in one with a foreign nation, and at the moment when she has invaded our country and, is overrunning it with a powerful army, Massachusetts, pleases to withdraw from the union. Do you think that she would have the right to do so? I am persuaded—nay I am sure that you do not: but then if you adopt the principles of nullification—if you admit those of the secession, what can you oppose to this course? Massachusetts, according to these, is a sovereign and independent state. As such, she has a right to judge of the constitutionality and policy of a law of Congress, and if she conceives it to be either unconstitutional or unjust, she may secede from the union. This is the doctrine of secession—This is the right with which its advocates, invest a state; and altho in the exercise of it, the most essential injury may be done to the union—nay altho it may even be dissolved on this account, and become a conquest to the invading army; still the state, thus seceding has a right to do so: and it is usurpation—tis tyranny—it is injustice of the rankest

kind, to attempt to restrain or punish; for, I do not hold to the doctrine that *might is right*. No my countrymen, right does not depend upon power, but upon principle: and therefore when an individual—a state—a nation has a right to do a certain thing, all the power of the universe cannot affect the right. It may restrain their physical force—it may bind them in chains, it may hold them in servitude, but the right remains, uninjured. It is the gift of God; and tho' tyrants may punish us for the exercise of it, they cannot affect the gift itself. Thus as the civil authority has no right to frame a religion for man—man, therefore has the right to reject it: and altho power may bring him to the stake, or the block for his exercise of it, and his life may be the forfeit, yet the right is the same. Hence *might* is not right; and hence—I repeat it, if the doctrine of secession be true, a state, whether the country be engaged in war or peace, has the right, whenever *she* believes that *she* has been unjustly dealt by, to leave the union, and set up for herself. Such is the doctrine of secession such the consequences of its admission. Does not its novelty astonish you? Do not its consequences alarm you? My countrymen; your ancestors did not know this doctrine; the framers of the constitution did not engrave it in that instrument, and those who administered your Government, never recognized it. No, they know nothing about it. It was reserved for modern times to witness it. It was reserved for nullifiers, anarchists and rebels; for men inflamed by ambition; and blasted hopes, for men inflated with vanity and drunk with pride, to introduce a doctrine very well calculated indeed to support insurrection, but subversive of order, of government, and the social compact. You cannot find one tittle in the constitution to sanction it. You cannot support it without opening the door to anarchy, to disunion, and depotism. But it is time to draw these numbers to a close.

We have arrived fellow-citizens at an awful crisis in our affairs. If we look to the west, the east, and the north, we behold every thing to gratify the eye and to gladden the heart. A soil fertile as Egypt's after its irrigation of the Nile; climates as lovely and genial as those which bless any portion of the globe; an abundance of every thing to support and embellish human life, and a population swelling like, the majestic rivers of the west into an importance, unprecedented in the history of the world; free, independent and happy. Such is the cheering prospect which meets our eye, when it turns its gaze upon these sections of the union. But, here it terminates; and here the bright visions of its erection, dissolve into airy nothing; for, when we then turn our looks to the south, there we behold every thing to alarm and sadden the heart of the patriot. Already does the thunder of rebellion burst over our heads; already does the language of defiance fall upon our ear: already is its horizon lighted up with the fires of civil war; and already, in imagination, we may behold the demon of anarchy sweeping through the land, with the trumpet of discord sounding the harsh notes of faction, and inviting its citizens to the clash of arms. Such is the spectacle upon which our eyes are compelled to light when we turn them to the south; and such the awful consequences which lie beyond resistance to the law. An important, a most important crisis, then has arrived in our affairs. The ambition of some; the delusion of others; the madness of more, threaten us with evils, which we had hoped, I trust not vainly, would long, very long be averted from our land: and they may still be averted. Divine providence, has been to us,

kind beyond *our* deserts; and almost without a parallel. Whilst the various revolutions of our neighbours, beyond the seas, for the last fifty years have not as yet attained their object; whilst man, denied his rights, still groans under the oppression of his rulers; whilst Poland bleeding to avenge the wrongs which she had so long endured, but feels the more severely the fierce grip of her tyrant; whilst France crimsoned with the blood of her revolutionary wars, sinks into the arms of monarchy, as her only security against the violence of faction, and the storms of anarchy; whilst Ireland,—Ireland the land of the saint and the hero. Ireland famed for her eloquence, and the loftiest conceptions of the human soul, groans under the despotism of a Hierarchy founded on usurpation; sustained by plunder, and festering with corruption; whilst England with her colossal debt, wages a war of famine against millions of her subjects; whilst the whole world is exhibiting to us this picture of human turpitude and misery, we are presenting to them a spectacle, the like of which had not been seen before. For, in many respects, who is like us? What nation has a government so free, and independent as ours? What people whose rights are so clearly defined, and so amply protected? What nation, which like ours, is upon the point of paying every cent of its national debt? What land, which like ours, overflows with its super-abundance of the necessary and comforts of human life? There is not one. No my country-men, there is not one.

It seems to me fellow-citizens, as if God says to *us*, what he once said to a nation of old—"What more could I have done for you," than I have done? Like that nation, he has dealt with *us* in a most wonderful manner. Like it, he has "led us out of the land of Egypt, and the house of bondage." Like it, he has conducted *us* through the perils of a seven years, war and crowned our arms with success. Like it, he raised up a Washington to be our guide, who more fortunate than the ancient law-giver of the Jews, conducted *us* over the red sea of our difficulties and dangers, and established *us* in the land of promise. Like it, he showers down upon *us*, with an unparalleled abundance, the greatest profusion of temporal blessings, and adds to these, in their fullest radiance, the truths of eternal life. Do we ask for liberty? We possess it. Do we desire self-government? We enjoy it: for, our laws, are made by ourselves. With more liberty, we should plunge into licentiousness. With less, we might groan under a tyrants sway. Do we desire independence or character? We feel the first as we pronounce it; and the universe willingly accords to *us* the last. Happy then at home, and respected abroad; with a constitution the wonder of the world; with a population augmenting without parallel not only in numbers, but in science, in civilization, in the arts, and morals. What more should we even desire to render *us* happy and contented? Ah! my country-men, let *us* not provoke the divine author of our being; he, from whose munificent hand, all these blessings flow, to ask *us*, as he asked the Jews, "what more can I do for my people, than I have done?" Oh! no, but, let *us* be contented, and we shall be happy. Differences of opinion we shall have, and of course our policy will conform to these. This is the result of our form of government. But be these differences what they may; be our constructions of the constitution ever so conflicting; there is one principle, in which we should agree, and this is obedience to the law, and the supremacy of lawful authority. This is a principle of common sense and reason. It is *our own* as declared by the constitution;

our own, made such, by its adoption; *our own*, as expressly ingrafted, in our social compact. With it, our institutions are preserved, and our liberties secured. Without it, authority is but a name, and law is but a farce. Let us then rally around the government, and let us fly to the standard of our union. This is not the moment to waste our time in angry disputations about the Tariff. It is not the Tariff; it is not its injustice; it is not its oppression; it is not its alledged violation of the constitution; it is not these to which we should now look; for, it is not for these simply that are attacked. No; it is the law; it is authority; it is government it is the constitution; it is the union; it is against every thing which we deem valuable, and hold dear, that war is threatened. And if for the preservation of these it be necessary for the government to draw the sword, let us give energy to its arm, and certainty to its blow.

Fellow-citizens, the attention of Europe is upon us. The oppressed subjects of despotic sway, cast their eyes across the wide ocean which separates them from us, and sigh to establish themselves in a land where independence has taken her abode, and the eagle of liberty in its majestic flight over our country, beholds not one spot of earth, which is not essentially free, and covered with the ægis of the law. Amidst all their privations and sufferings; amidst the miseries of want, and the terrors of oppression; amidst that gloom of desolation of every thing around them; in the very moment, when perhaps maternal affection is dividing the last loaf of bread among her starving children; yes, even in this moment of inexpressible agony, there is still left one hope, to cheer and comfort her sorrowing heart. It is the hope of emigration; the hope of one day abandoning the cheerless desert of the old world, and of enjoying the abundance and independence of the new: And animated by *this*, she dashes the tear from her eye, and makes a holyday for her heart in the contemplation of her deliverance. Yes, my country-men, such is the prospect which suffering humanity has had before them. They look on you with an eye of the most intense interest, and they implore you by all that you hold sacred and dear; by the blood which your ancestors have shed in the cause of independence; by the constitution which your sages framed, and which you adopted; by the rights which you possess, and unmolested enjoy; by the majesty of the law, by the dignity of the authority; by the principles of every government under heaven, not to mar the splendid prospect you have had before you; not to cloud the bright day of your glory; not to grieve, if grieved they can be, the spirits of your forefathers; not to tear into fragments, the constitution of our own choice; not to strike from the proud flag of your country, one star which brightens and adorns it; but to obey the law; to reverence authority, and to preserve the union. Yes, let us do this. Let union be the watch-word. Let us rally to support it; let us pour out our blood in its defence. But, if this prove unavailing; if our government have no power to compel obedience to the law; if it be the weak and contemptible thing which some represent it to be; if *this* indeed be the case, why let it fall; and let us who dread the turbulence of mobs as little better than the anarchy of hell, implore the Almighty ruler of the universe, to send us some Cæsar, who will cause the law to triumph, and authority to reign. But no, my country-men, let us hope for better thing. True; the prospect is gloomy enough. The muttering thunder breaks upon the ear, and ever and anon, we may hear in fancy, the war-cry as it is borne along by the southern blast. But,

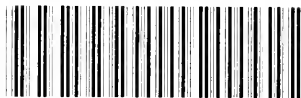
amidst all the perplexities and uncertainties of human life; amidst the awful gloom which hangs over a portion of the south, a light shines forth to dispel the darkness, and to cheer our spirits with a ray of hope. It is the star of union. We saw it but yesterday just rising above the horizon; and behold, already it culminates to the meridian, obfuscating by its splendor the baleful meteors which shed their sickly lights, as they shot through the dense atmosphere of their own creation. Let us trust that its radiance will not be shed in vain: but, that like the star of Bethlehem which conducted the shepherds and the sages to the "infant's crib, it will lead our brethren to the temple of liberty, of the constitution, of law, and of union. Yes, let us trust that this *will* be the case; let us hope that passion will yield to reason, and that resentment will give place to fraternal affection. Let the sentiment be universal, "the Federal Union, it must be preserved."

A NATIVE OF MARYLAND.





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